

# AZANIA COMBAT

No 1

-- Service Suffering & Sacrifice --

1975

## FIREWORKS FROM ZEPH



Zeph Mothupeng addresses a BPC meeting

The Black People's Convention late last year held a congress in Azania at which the veteran freedom fighter, Zephania Mothupeng, elected to the National Executive Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress at the inaugural conference in 1959, was invited to speak as the main guest. It has been said of Mothupeng that if there is a freedom fighting job to do Zeph will always be there. A few notes on his experiences appear on the back page and below is DRUM magazine's report on his speech at the BPC meeting:

Then came Mr Zaf Mothupeng, introduced as "a veteran fighter whom the forces thought was dead."

For thirty minutes he whipped up support for the BPC. Then came the fireworks:

"Now," he said, "Shaka was the greatest general Africa has produced. Yet today we find the very descendants of Shaka asking Mr Vorster where the boundaries of his country are. I ask you man, how can you ask a foreigner where your country's boundaries are? And a foreigner who is indigenous."

The audience started to chant: "Gatsha must go... Gatsha must go."

When the chanting stopped Mr Mothupeng asked: "What kind of man is this? He must stay at home and look after his wife and children and leave the struggle to the people."

A loud roar of approval from the audience.

"Take all the Urban Bantu Councils, the homeland governments, the South African Indian Council, the Coloured Representative Council and every one of these institutions that work within the

apartheid system, and they are a waste of time. We will never have anything to do with them.

Then chairman Mashwaba:

He said that Black groups working within the system were not acceptable. He described Chief Kaiser Matanzima as the "champion of clowns", and added that Chief Mangoshe was "getting hell" from his two sons who were members of SASO.

"See what Pretoria has done. They have chosen puppets for a window dressing to go to the United Nations.

(See back page for picture story).

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Announcement:

Rising costs compel us to once more raise the subscriptions rate for Asania Combat. As from this issue the fee is £1.50 for 12 issues in the United Kingdom and Ireland or 3.50 US dollars in the US and Canada; the equivalent in any convertible currency will be accepted from Africa, Asia, Australia and New Zealand and other parts of Europe and the world. Subscribers are once more reminded that payment is for 12 issues and not one year, as we cannot come out with Combat that frequently. The price per copy has been raised from 6p to 8p in the UK and costs the corresponding amount elsewhere.

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• UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi

ANGOLA: Graveyard of myths

Following talks which began on January 10 it was announced that the Portuguese government and the Angolan liberation movements had agreed on November 11, 1975, as the country's independence day. A lot of myths were built around the 13 years of armed struggle in Angola, most were unceremoniously buried as the struggle drew to a close; none as colossal as the social imperialist lies about UNITA. As it turned out it was UNITA's leader Dr Jonas Savimbi who did most to bring about the unity between UNITA, Frelimo and MPLA. This has destroyed the credibility of journalistic tarsans like Basil Davidson and "Afrique-asie" beyond repair. VIVA ANGOLA LIBRE!

DAVID M. SIBEKO  
Head of the Pan Africanist Congress  
Mission in Europe & the Americas

*Subscriptions will  
be appreciated*



Is it detente or deception  
from Vorster?

THE COLLAPSE OF THE FASCIST COLONIALIST REGIME IN PORTUGAL CERTAINLY USHERED IN THE MOST FASCINATING CHAIN REACTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule rapidly bowed to the heroic armed struggle of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique; armed guerilla warfare accelerated into top-gear in Zimbabwe; mass action against apartheid occupation intensified in Namibia; in Azania industrial action in the mines and factories have become the order of the day and more than 50 Black leaders of mass demonstrations and rallies in support of FRELIMO's ascendance to total power in Mozambique were arrested and detained under the notorious Terrorism Act.

It was expected that the white minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia would put up a last ditch stand and stick their guns. Stick to their guns they are but Vorster's tongue in cheek appeal for "peace" in Southern Africa is less than a typical herenvolk last ditch stand. But now that Vorster has succeeded in putting up Smith as the sacrificial lamb, according to popular folklore in the Western mass media, it is vital to find out what are Pretoria's true intentions.

The temptation to come up with simple answers for the deeper meaning of "dialogue 1974-75 style" is strong but those who have responsibility for the fate of those most affected where the South African apartheid regime is concerned, namely the oppressed in Azania, cannot afford the luxury of cliches and stock answers.

#### Peace vs Violence

The principal OAU members involved in the contacts Vorster sought to establish have impeccable credentials of total commitment to the struggle of the peoples of Azania, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general. In pursuit of Africa's cherished goal of total liberation Tanzania and Zambia have paid dearly in lives and resources; Botswana, almost totally encircled by white minority regimes, has refused to be intimidated away from a progressive and liberation movement supporting foreign policy. There can be no question, therefore, that these countries are deeply sincere in their search for a peaceful transition from white minority rule to African majority rule in Zimbabwe as well as in Namibia and Azania. The OAU Liberation Committee's Dar es Salaam Declaration adopted in January, 1975, reaffirms these countries' commitment.

In his statements Vorster too has been speaking of "peace instead of confrontation" and in reference to Smith's intransigence he said the alternative to negotiations was "too ghastly to contemplate".

For their part, and to their credit as honest men, the African leaders prevailed on the Zimbabwean national liberation movements to create a common front and call a truce. In return Vorster was to get his friend Smith to release all political prisoners, lift the ban on African political organisations and activities and their (Vorster and Smith) joint troops would also observe the truce; further South African soldiers were to be pulled out.

We all know that Vorster and Smith have only partially met their side of the bargain i.e. by releasing a few detainees, including Ndabaningi Sithole and other leaders. Their troops are still being dispatched on search and destroy missions, instead of being withdrawn to barracks, and by the middle of January seven South African white soldiers intruding in African nationalist controlled areas had been eliminated and several

DETENTE OR DECEPTION (cont.)

had been wounded. Smith unilaterally stopped releasing prisoners and once more made a "never in my life time" declaration against African majority rule on January 1.

Someone who knows the thinking of both Vorster and Smith better than most is Dr Ahern Palley, South African born and independent white MP for 12 years in the Rhodesian settler parliament. He told the Guardian (London) Vorster has yet to tighten the screws on Smith. "You may attribute the release of some political detainees and subsequent events in Rhodesia to South African pressure, he says. "In fact, this has been a propaganda exercise which has not fundamentally shaken Mr Smith's will or altered his situation. The prisoners could be rounded up again as we are talking" (our emphasis). Palley then goes on to enumerate the real pressure Vorster is capable of exerting on Smith: 1) imports and exports; 2) logistics and manpower support which enables Smith to fight African guerillas; 3) the power to wreck Rhodesia's economy - the exchange rate between the South African rand and the Rhodesian dollar being the onliest rate truly fixed on the trading position and balance of payments between the two countries.

Palley poses a wellknown rhetorical question: "When in history has a ruling elite voluntarily surrendered its powers and privileges?" From here the next logical question is: "Can Vorster exert real pressure on Smith on behalf of Africa? If so, for what prize?" Most of the answers to these questions can also be found in Palley's interview: "I doubt whether Mr Vorster has really made up his mind what to do about Rhodesia. He wants his own country to become the industrial powerhouse in sub-Saharan Africa. He needs a peaceful transition period in Rhodesia to complete the economic consolidation in South Africa that, he feels, will make the forces of African nationalism as effective as pea shooting against concrete". Is Africa prepared to pay such a prize? Never, we hope.

Leopard's spots

The reliability of the National Party regime and White settlers in South Africa is tackled by the wellknown writer David Holden, of the London Sunday Times. He recalls 26 years of systematic cast-iron racial policies and says: "In the light of this history official half-promises of change extracted under pressure (the UN expulsion) are bound to sound unconvincing". Speaking against the background of Vorster's "Give South Africa six months' chance ..." plea Holden reports from South Africa that "White South Africa's old ability to say one thing and do another was as evident as ever. Police brutality, bannings, arrests, threats to artistic and Press freedom, above all the same old sorry tale of millions of non-white stretched or broken on the rack of white fear and Calvinist piety, arrogance, ignorance and inhuman bureaucracy - these had not stopped. Some said they were worse than ever. And behind all Mr Vorster's new sweet talk there remained the explicit determination to maintain apartheid".

On top of these findings by Holden is Vorster's unequivocal declaration that "In South Africa the white man will always rule" which he made to "correct wrong interpretations" read into his "six months' plea". It is crystal clear that the leopard has not changed its spots and quite evidently Vorster has not got in mind the same objectives of a peaceful transition to majority rule in Anania. In the face of Pretoria's proven arrogance and intransigence there is no way the Asanian national liberation movement can arbitrarily revoke the people's mandate and seek to parley with the mortal enemy. The fall of Portuguese colonialism has exploded the myth of white invincibility and left South Africa exposed. And now Vorster is seeking the protection from the table which he knows a last ditch stand cannot give him.

- The Editor



Black Convention Condemns  
Apartheid - Calls For  
World Boycott

HAMMANSKRAAL. - A CONVENTION ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPRESSED BLACK MAJORITY IN AZANIA IN THIS NORTHERN TRANSVAAL TOWN, last December firmly endorsed the general line of the Azanian national liberation movement by outrightly rejecting the apartheid regime's fraudulent policy of "seperate development" and endorsing the call for an intensification of the international economic, cultural, manpower and military boycott of South Africa.

All conference resolutions demonstrated openly that the Azanian people are firmly behind the programme of national liberation charted by their liberation movement. In an opening declaration it was stated: "We dedicate ourselves towards striving for a totally united and democratic South Africa, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. A society in which all people participate fully in the government of the country through the medium of one man, one vote. A society in which there is an equitable distribution of wealth and an anti-racist society".

#### Bantustans and multi-racialism out

As reported in the London Times (January 11 1975) so-called liberal whites and "Leftists" were excluded from the Convention because the 320 delegates coming from all over the country contended "that only Blacks were able to determine their own role in the present situation of South Africa and settle their immediate priorities". The only speaker to call for a multi-racial South Africa was an African minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Rev. E. Tema. His call was rejected, along with a plea from one of the Bantustan puppets who infiltrated the meeting, Collins Ramusi, and asked for "Bantu homeland" puppet administrations to be used as there "was no alternative".

Delegates shouted "Sell-out! Go away!" Other infiltrators from the so-called KwaZulu bantustan and the Coloureds' Representative Council were sought out and promptly expelled from the Convention. Delegates from SASO (the South African Students' Organisation) said "Bantu homeland leaders are sell-outs and traitors. They must never be allowed to take the place of our leaders who are in prison and those under house arrest and restrictions".

#### Freedom through violence

Keeping up the militant momentum in the Convention a student defiantly stated what every genuine patriot from Azania has accepted: "I have not heard of any nation which gained its freedom through anything short of violence. It is unrealistic for Black people to believe that the oppressors could willingly hand over power". Clearly addressing himself to the outbreak of "detente" between the racist regime and some OAU member states the student also said: "Power negotiations in South Africa could only come on the terms of the Black People".

The myth that only under white patronage are Africans able to advance their cause was powerfully exploded by a prominent resolution which declares: "We acknowledge that it is not the first time a meeting of Black people has been convened and we state firmly that we wish to continue on the efforts that have taken place in the past". This blow was clearly aimed at both the white racists and multi-racialists, the latter being authors of the despised Kliptown "Freedom Charter" of 1955.

Meanwhile, the Convention's call for a "united and democratic South Africa" is consistent with the P.A.A.C. objective of a non-racial and democratic Azania, as spelled out in Mangaliso Sobukwe's address at the inaugural

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### BLACK CONVENTION (Cont)

conference on the Pan Africanist Congress. The Convention also committed itself to "a society in which there is an equitable distribution of wealth". Sobukwe says "We stand committed to a policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth", and the P.A.C. code states that the Party's aim is to create an African, Socialist and Democratic State.

#### SASO - BPC slandered

The Black Renaissance Convention is the latest of the increasing defiant demonstrations Black people are staging at the risk of imprisonment under anyone of the many draconian and repressive laws passed by the White parliament in South Africa. These demonstrations have included collage campus rallies, workers strikes and congresses of both SASO and the BPC (the Black People's Convention). Over 50 SASO and BPC members have been arrested and held incommunicado under the Terrorism Act since last September for organising pro-PRELIMO rallies and demonstrations.

The mass organisations co-sponsoring the Convention, IDAMASA (a body of African ministers of the Church), ASSECA (an African cultural group) and the Mission and Evangelism division of the South African Council of Churches, said the Black Renaissance Convention aims at "creating a discussion platform for Blacks from all walks of life".

Elements sympathetic to the pro-apartheid bantustan puppets have tried to slander SASO and the BPC and "blamed" these two militant Black organisations for the militant tone of the Convention's resolutions but even they are at a loss for explaining how, by their own admission (see EcuNews, 42/74 New York), the 20 SASO-BPC delegates managed to dominate over 300 fellow-delegates. It seems a classical case of paternalists who consider the Azanian's struggle for democracy to be "too serious a matter to leave to the Black man".

Adding insult to their chauvinistic injury these pro-bantustan puppets elements recalled the contemptuous remarks about SASO made by the Negro congressman, A. Young, who said the Azanian student organisation was like the Panthers in the U.S.A., they could not liberate Blacks, "They will write poems". This uncle tom needs to be reminded that Azania is not an extension of the U.S.A., it is part of Africa where African freedom fighters have wrested power from Portugal through armed struggle and successful wars of liberation are unfolding in Zimbabwe and Namibia. He also needs to look into his own history and find out how many of his ilk enjoyed membership of the Federal legislature before Panther type militancy and the martyrs of Watts, Newark, Detroit and Harlem in the mid-Sixties.

#### Harmony in the movement

The rejection of apartheid in toto and the call for sanctions against South Africa to be increased are living evidence that the Azanian people and their liberation movement are marching in close harmony. The identity in views and objective spelled out in the Convention's resolutions and in the basic documents of the Pan Africanist Congress are proof of the desired unity amongst the genuinely fighting forces; the unity is indispensable in the wake of the crucial stage the protracted Azanian liberation struggle has reached following developments in neighbouring countries.



UN Victory for Azanian movement  
and the O A U

In 1974 countries of the Third World asserted themselves in the United Nations and inflicted heavy diplomatic defeats on the super powers and their underlings. The outstanding victories of the Third World were without question the successful campaign of the Organisation of African Unity member states, with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania forming part of their spearhead, in ousting the Pretoria regime's representatives from the 29th General Assembly Session of the United Nations and the sitting of the PLO as an observer in the General Assembly.

Close to the victory of the Azanian national liberation movement and the OAU was the historic appearance of Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, under a special invitation. The PLO was also granted "observer status" in the UN General Assembly for the first time, Azanian liberation movements recognized by the OAU had been granted the same status in the General Assembly special political committee earlier in the session.

The Third World countries, supported by other medium size and smaller powers, infuriated the US imperialists to a point where John Scali, the US permanent representative, wildly charged that the UN was suffering from a "tyranny of the majority". Tailing close behind with similar ravings and rantings was the UK's clumsy and insolent representative, Ivor Richard, who complained of a "break down in law and order" in the UN.

Security Council sabotage

The anger of Britain, France and the US boiled over when angry African delegations, through the Chairman of the Group, Ambassador Ahmed Salim of Tanzania, brought the question of the participation of Pretoria's delegation in the United Nations back to the General Assembly following a crude sabotage of a majority decision ( 10 to 3 with 2 abstentions) to recommend to the General Assembly South Africa's expulsion. Through an unprecedented triple veto France, the UK and the US vetoed the majority decision in the Security Council, thus effectively sabotaging the move to have Vorster's representatives expelled, or so they thought. The Africa group promptly took the matter back to the General Assembly and asked for the President's ruling on the rejection of the Pretoria men's credentials by both the credentials committee and the General Assembly itself, with an overwhelming majority in the latter.

With courage and determination the President, Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, clearly spelled out the rules governing the UN in such matters, overthrew previous negative decisions and ruled for the apartheid South Africa delegation to be removed from the 29th General Assembly. Added to this humiliating defeat was the backing the President received from over 100 delegations for his ruling, this was in response to an attempt by Scali to intimidate non-aligned and medium size and smaller countries by calling for a roll-call vote after challenging M. Bouteflika's ruling.

Ogbu rebukes Britain

It was at that point when Richards of the UK spoke of the "break down in law and order in the UN". Replying to this clumsy and insolent attack Ambassador E.O. Ogbu of Nigeria, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid said "the British representatives should refrain from addressing fellow representatives of sovereign countries as if they were subjects." Drawing from his universally appreciated wit at the UN Ambassador Ogbu said "If the colonialists were good teachers, as they claim, we were equally

PAC - OAU victory (cont)

good students". Ambassador Ogbu was here attacking a tired excuse advanced by Britain, France and the US whose representatives continuously claimed that kicking the apartheid regime out of the UN would "destroy" the Organisation's "universality". The Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid said any universality which excludes the 16 million oppressed Azanians was a sham universality.

Political pygmies

The main arguments for Pretoria's expulsion mostly advanced during lively debate in the General Assembly Special Political Committee, the P.A.C. participated as observers. Potlako K. Leballo, Acting President of the Pan Africanist Congress, specially invited by the Chairman of this Committee from Dar-es-Salaam, told the UN members: "There must be no compromise and no equivocation. Those who elect to employ the tactic of veto to frustrate our efforts will bear the full responsibility for the consequences of their actions. This is no idle threat. The heroic people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, as well as the courageous freedom fighters of Algeria and Indo-China, have demonstrated that a people united behind a revolutionary movement can defeat any enemy, no matter how powerful".

Comrade Leballo, in his important address, also pointed out that in the PAC "we recognise that apartheid is a by-product of imperialism and capitalist avarice. It will only yield to revolutionary struggle. We are determined to wage a fight to the finish against apartheid oppression and capitalist exploitation in our country - we urge progressive forces in the United Nations to give all out support to our struggle".

The Pretoria regime had earlier tried one of their gimmicks on the UN by bringing puppets from the Transkei bantustan and the Coloured and Indian representative councils. The P.A.C. delegation dismissed these clowns as political pygmies of no consequence. PAC exposed that the three had been brought in under the advice of some weak strategist in Pretoria's foreign office. Referring to these bogus representatives of the Black people Leballo said: "These political dwarfs should be flung out of the UN building". They returned to their Pretoria masters with tails between their legs.

Security Council

The PAC delegation was the first Azanian liberation movement to address the UN Security Council at its Headquarters in New York. David M. Sibeko, on behalf the P.A.C., delivered a widely acclaimed speech. Amongst the things he said was that "The representatives of the people of the world have, by an overwhelming majority vote in the General Assembly, given the Security Council a clear mandate ... We have now reached the stage where most of the world's nations agree with the Azanian liberation movement's call for decisive punitive action against the Pretoria regime." Sibeko cited some of the vile crimes which qualified the regime for expulsion and backed his charges with quotations from statements by Azanian representatives, world statesmen and the findings of the ILO and the International Commission of Jurists, amongst others. Winding up Sibeko recalled what Mangaliso Sobukwe said at his trial in 1960: "We believe in one race only - the human race to which we belong. The history of that race is a long history of struggle ... We would have betrayed the human race if we had not done our share". Sibeko then appealed to the human race not to let down the Azanian people in turn.

After this Pik Botha, Vorster's man at the UN, took the floor to make a confessional plea for tolerance from the International Community. He was best answered by China's Ambassador who said Botha's appeal was like asking the



## PAC - OAU victory (Concluding)

United Nations to use dog dung for manure.

As reported above the Security Council move for total expulsion was sabotaged by Britain, France and the US with their unprecedented triple veto. This confirmed Potlako Leballo's charge that apartheid is the baby of capitalism and imperialism. Nevertheless the majority vote in the Security Council and the successful campaign in the General Assembly gave the imperialists a bleeding nose.

This year Vorster has started early with his gimmicks but the growing strength of the Third World countries in the UN will bring them to naught and the Western imperialists behind apartheid will find it increasingly difficult to prevent the total expulsion of the South African apartheid regime.

New York — Mr David Ebeko, the anti-apartheid representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress, led the applause in the Diplomatic Gallery as the General Assembly debated last week the resolvable South African from its affairs.

The South African member of the United Nations was the only one to vote against the resolution. The Assembly, however, passed the resolution by a vote of 120 to 14, with 35 abstentions. The South African member's office a black flag from the UN building.

**WIND TO CLEAR**  
The South African vote on apartheid was the only one to vote against the resolution. The South African member's office a black flag from the UN building.

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## Claps and clenched fist salute greet exclusion decision

There was a ripple of better than ordinary applause when the Assembly rejected the South African membership.

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## The man who was possible

Gerald L'Ange  
reporting  
from the  
United Nations

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Adolphus Bantwini — An active leader South Africa from participation in General Assembly efforts

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# Capitulation in Instalments

Pretoria. - A LOCAL WHITE NEWSPAPER RECENTLY STUNNED ITS READERS BY RECOMMENDING THAT THE NAME "AZANIA", FIRST USED BY THE PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS, ought to be adopted as South Africa's official name. To Africans this represents capitulation in instalments by the white supremacists, even as the paper, "Pretoria News", used the wrong reasons for why the name should be adopted. The News says it should be adopted because Azania is what ancient Egyptians called all of unexplored Africa South of Ethiopia. The Pan Africanist Congress adopted the name both for its historical significance and for its meaning: "Zanj" in classical Arabic means Blackman, and Azania means Blackman's land, which is the political significance PAC attaches to the name AZANIA.

In London the Sunday Telegraph gave the Pretoria News story a humorous twist. It reads:

"The white tribes of Africa are catching on to the name game by which emergent Black Africa scores so many political points, erases nasty colonial memories and keeps cartographers of the continent on their toes.

Rules of the game seem to dictate that any new name must end in a vowel, and preferably contain a Z.

Thus Ghana and Botswana pass, but Zambia and Tanzania collect the honours.

The objective, whether it's a matter of changing the name of a country, the capital, the streets, or the personal handle of the President, is to rid the continent of its European overtones.

Thus President Mobutu (having dropped the chaos-connotated Congo for point-scoring Zaire) shed himself of his Christian names - Joseph Desire - and became Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Waza Banga. And that means "the all-powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, will go from conquest to conquest, leaving fire in his wake."

Never one to be left out, Idi Amin of Uganda renamed Lake Edward as Lake Idi Amin and extended his own title to Idi Amin Al Hajji Bada. However, with characteristic nostalgia for the old order, he awarded himself the Victoria Cross.

Nationalists have persuaded the United Nations to adopt officially Namibia for the controversial territory of South-west Africa; and the Black Rhodesian exiles call their country Zimbabwe, after the mysterious ruins of a non-white civilisation which long preceded that of Cecil John Rhodes.

In its early days, Frelimo planned to rename Mozambique as Monomatapa, after another ancient black kingdom in South-east Africa. But the Rhodesians pipped them at the post by using the name for a five-star "reactionary" hotel in the middle of Salisbury. So Mozambique it will remain.

Now the South Africans, who have never been happy with their name, are considering a pre-emptive move to adopt the nationalist liberationist name for the republic - Azania.

The Pretoria News, tongue in cheek, suggested that as the ancient Egyptians had first described the unexplored southern extremities of the Continent as Azania it had enough historical respectability to be officially assumed.



### Capitulation (continued)

The News concludes: "It has a fairly pleasant ring, and it would certainly take some wind out of our critics' sails. And starting as it does with the first letter of the alphabet, it would get us well up on the roll-call list at the United Nations"

Editor's note: If the settlers opt for Asania they will only help smooth the administrative take over by an African majority government, saving us piles of paperwork. Apartheid's critics will not be quailed by gimmicks, not even "tongue-in-cheek" capitulation.

The Sixth Pan African Congress DELEGATES TO THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS IN DAR ES SALAAM, LAST JUNE, CAME AWAY WITH MIXED FEELINGS. This is not necessarily a bad thing.

An interval of nearly 30 years between meetings at that level amongst Africans from all over the world is a long time. During that time many events have come to pass, inevitably these events have helped to shape and re-shape the thinking of African people and their outlook in the common struggle to totally free the Mother Continent and Africans wherever they may be.

Whatever the shortcomings Tanzanians warm hearted people, their ruling Parties TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party and their respected leader, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, deserve and have been variously accorded full praise for hosting the great event - the resources they laid out for African delegates and other participants from all over the world were of the highest standards. Mwalimu Nyerere's key-note speech at the opening, unanimously adopted by the Congress, along with that of President Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea (tape recorded), as the Congress's working papers, represented the consensus of current progressive think in Africa.

The contributions of delegates from the US, the UK and South America, along with the speech of the special guest from the Palestine Liberation Organisation, confirmed the general anti-racist, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist line of the Congress. It rests upon the people of each country to triumph over local reactionaries and advance their struggle for the common good of all oppressed people. The 6th PAC gave Africans an excellent opportunity to compare and share experiences for that exercise.

There was also unanimity on the complimentary nature of African people's struggles for liberation, social justice and unity in Africa, and the struggle of African descendants' for their inalienable democratic rights in the United States, Europe and the Caribbean. The need for cultural and technical exchanges was also concretised. It is important for those who participated with a genuine desire to promote Pan African solidarity to build on these positive achievements.



• PAC delegation led by P.K. Leballo, Acting President, at the 6th Congress in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

# OUT!



Chairman Mayatula took the microphone. "Brothers and sisters we have a spy among us. There is a man sitting on the right of me who tells me that he was a member of the ANC, and is now a follower of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. In both cases he is dangerous, and I demand that he leaves the meeting" Nobody moved, then some young men in yellow and black skippers moved in and moved the man out. Chairman Mayatula would not say who the man was — and neither would the man. DRUM picture shows the mystery man being sent on his way.

## THE VETERAN FREEDOM FIGHTER

ZEPH MOTHUPENG has been a household name in Azania for decades. He came into prominence in the 'Fifties when he formed part of the leadership of African school teachers struggling against the introduction of the hated Bantu Education system. Zeph, short for Zephania, was severely victimised by the apartheid authorities and sacked from his job as a teacher at Orlando High School in Johannesburg. Other schools were warned against employing him and he had to survive on odd jobs, at the same time as doing articles with a Johannesburg law firm. In 1959, along with other members of the Africanist Movement, he became a founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress and was elected to the Party's National Executive Committee, on the 6th of April, at the inaugural conference.

### Robben Island & 90 Days

The following year P.A.C. launched the historic Positive Action Campaign and Zeph was charged, along with Mangaliso Sobukwe and other leaders of the Party, with inciting Africans against the "State" and got a two year hard labour sentence which he served in several South African prisons alongside President Sobukwe and other PAC leaders and militants.

In 1963 Zeph Mothupeng was amongst the first group of the 10,000 PAC National, Regional, Branch and Cell leaders and cadres arrested in a nation-wide swoop — a move launched by the then Verwoerd regime to pre-empt a national campaign of violence by the Pan Africanist Congress and POCCO (the underground armed wing) aimed at overthrowing White domination. Whilst in prison Zeph was removed from other freedom fighters and held incommunicado under the newly passed 90-Day detention law. He was severely tortured and his treatment became a national scandal in the mass media. He was to sue Vorster (then Justice Minister) and the South African security police for injuries sustained during the prolonged period of detention and torture.

When Mothupeng was finally brought to trial he was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act, accused of receiving funds from the External Mission of the Pan Africanist Congress and distributing these to underground cells of the P.A.C. and POCCO. He served three years on Robben Island and in other jails and upon his release was placed in a concentration camp near Harriemth in the Orange Free State. Whilst on Robben Island he received further charges: he was accused of calling a senior jail warder "an old cow".